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DR. J. H. HOLLANDER made good use of his vacation in England last summer by unearthing two important sets of Ricardo's letters which English economists had given up for lost. The first consists of a series of twenty-four letters written from 1820 to 1823, addressed to Ricardo's intimate friend, Hutches Trower, Esq., a Surrey country gentleman. Twenty-two of these were written by Ricardo himself and the other two by his son-in-law, Anthony Austin. These last describe the sudden illness and unexpected death of the economist. The second set, found, strangely enough, safely filed away in the British Museum, consists of the missing correspondence with J. R. McCulloch from 1816 to 1823. This includes forty-five numbers, among which are a letter from Malthus and the original of James Mill's letter announcing Ricardo's death. It will be noticed that these letters supplement very completely the correspondence with Malthus which has already been published and thus throw much interesting light upon the personality, political activity and economic thinking of Ricardo during the last years of his life. The Trower letters are to be published soon by the British Economic Association, while the American Economic Association is going to bring out the McCulloch correspondence together with several single letters of Ricardo to Bentham and others. Students of Ricardo will regret the necessity of separating these two sets of letters which belong to the same period and must help to mutually explain each other. The arrangement is explained by the hesitancy manifested by the British Economic Association about bringing out both sets of letters at once.

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## REVIEWS.

*The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman, D. C. L., LL. D.*

By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B. D., Dean of Winchester. Two Vols., Pp. 435, 499. Price, \$7.00 London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

The personality of the late Professor Freeman was even more remarkable than his undoubted merits as a historian, and Dean Stephens in his life of the deceased professor has wisely allowed that personality to be manifested through the medium of Freeman's most characteristic letters. Every one who came in contact with him, was struck by the mixture of ferocity and gentleness, of sound learning and occasional faddishness, of sturdy independence and helpless reliance on others, which made up a personality always impressive, but not always congenial or sociable. No man loved or

admired his friends with greater heartiness, no man ever took more unreasonable dislikes or antipathies to individuals, no man who has striven to be impartial has ever shown himself more prejudiced and biased in certain directions. When the history of English historiography during the last fifty years comes to be written, Freeman will doubtless fill a large and important place. But the range of his activity was not confined to the writing of history; he was a keen politician, an ardent sympathizer with the small nationalities in southeastern Europe, which the nineteenth century has seen on the road towards independence, and he made himself known to the vast majority of his fellow countrymen who do not read history, by his uncompromising opposition to the favorite sport of England, fox-hunting. A skillful and active journalist and an excellent lecturer and public speaker, Freeman united a ready pen to a fearless voice in the service of the various causes to which his life was devoted. The ardor of his character made him apt to advocate unpopular views with exaggerated fervor, but his courage in defending what he believed to be right, won for him the respect even of his opponents. This strong personality is excellently displayed in his correspondence and Dean Stephens has done well to restrict his own part as biographer to occasional comments on Freeman's letters, and to brief descriptions of the chief stages in his uneventful life. All who have ever received or read letters from Professor Freeman knew that a rich treat was in store for them when they heard that the historian's family had decided to allow the publication of a collection of his letters. It has often been said that the electric telegraph and cheap postal facilities have killed the art of letter-writing, but the publication of the correspondence of James Russell Lowell and of Professor Freeman, effectually disproves this accusation against the greatest of modern conveniences. In their graceful humor, in their absolute revelation of himself, in the interest of their contents and in the raciness of their style, Freeman's letters present a perfect picture of the writer with all his strength and weakness, his originality of thought and innate prejudices.

Although Freeman, the man, is shown by these volumes to be a more interesting figure than Freeman, the historian, it is by his historical work, that he is generally known in this country, and it is for light on his methods of work as a historian that Dean Stephens' volumes will naturally be studied. It is always necessary in estimating the writings of any historian to study his private character his up-bringing and points of view, in order to discount the work of the writer by a knowledge of his personality. To read Macaulay's "History of England", for instance, without a knowledge of Macau-

lay's political views, simply misguides the student of English history, although it need not detract from the pleasure of the general reader; and in almost every instance, the critical value of the study of history is only to be obtained when the natural bias and the mental attitude of the author have been thoroughly ascertained. Modern scientific historians endeavor as far as possible to eliminate the personal equation in doing their work, and what may be called the objective type of historian is now esteemed above his subjective rival who endeavors not only to relate the history of the course of events, but to convince his readers of the correctness of his own point of view. This ideal is however modern, and until quite recently historians made no effort to keep their personal prejudices out of their writings. Freeman is one of the most subjective of historians. Although the period which he treated did not lend itself to the service of modern political parties as did the period embraced in Macaulay's work, Freeman's mind and nature made him essentially a partisan, and he took sides heartily in the political struggles of the eleventh century and never concealed his admiration for his heroes or his contempt and dislike for their enemies. It is this which makes it especially necessary to obtain a correct view of Freeman's character. He stamped his personality so thoroughly on his books that without a knowledge of that personality, the keynote to his writings is lost. A study of his life and correspondence is therefore particularly necessary in Freeman's case and students of any of his writings must first make themselves familiar with the man if they would derive real benefit from his books. His virtues and faults as a historian were his virtues and faults as a man; his wide knowledge, his accuracy of quotation, his frank partisanship and his vivid realization of past events, his prejudices and his hearty admiration for justice, righteousness and true greatness were characteristic of the man as they were characteristic of the historian. In order then to understand the historian, a full knowledge of the man must be sought, and both Dean Stephens and Mr. Freeman's family and friends deserve most hearty thanks for permitting to be frankly disclosed the nature of the man as exhibited in his letters to his admirers and the public.

The most obvious point in Freeman's life which distinguishes it from that of other English historians is that he was possessed of a sufficient income on which to live without practicing any profession. Like the other bright and shining lights of the Oxford historical school, Bishop Stubbs and Bishop Creighton, Mr. S. R. Gardiner and Mr. J. R. Green, Freeman was not educated at one of the great English schools and was thus, perhaps, the better fitted to fall under

the magic influence of the most ancient, most beautiful and most historic of universities. Ever a loyal son of Trinity College and of Oxford, he was affected like Stubbs and Green and Gardiner and Creighton by the sense of familiarity with bygone ages in the life of the nation which residence at Oxford always inspires into the man with a taste for history, and after obtaining a fellowship he was soon drawn into the line of work for which his intellect and nature were best adapted. His career after leaving Oxford was not eventful; he stood for Parliament and was defeated; he wrote many articles for the *Saturday Review*; he traveled about a great deal, lecturing, attending meetings of archæological societies and visiting scenes of historic events; and in his later years, when the desire for active teaching had almost left him, he reached the goal of one of his earlier ambitions and was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. Exempted by the possession of a competence from struggling for a livelihood, he was able to pass his life in comfort as an English country gentleman. Happy in his domestic relations, his private life was marked by no great sorrows or violent emotions, and he enjoyed the leisure which every scholar yearns for, but which few obtain. Nor was his life marked by the strenuous intellectual and religious struggles which sometimes make the lives of quiet recluses as fascinating as the adventures of soldiers and travelers; untroubled by the tiresome introspection and unaffected by the religious controversies which rent the heart and mind of another famous scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, John Henry Newman, he was enabled to pursue his life's work without let or hindrance. The epochs in his life are marked by the regular production of his books and no man ever worked under more favorable circumstances. Freeman's correspondence, then, must be studied simply and purely for the information that it gives of his character and methods of work, and not for romantic events or a record of intellectual development.

His faith and ideals as a historian are to be found in his published works and no additional light is thrown upon them by the publication of his letters. In his Rede lecture on "The Unity of History," in his "Lectures to American Audiences," in his "Methods of Historical Study" and elsewhere, Freeman stated his attitude as a teacher and writer of history with such distinctness that it need not be dwelt upon in this connection, but his methods of work are not so generally known. Like Carlyle, he refused to work in great public libraries. Dean Stephens explains this reluctance as proceeding from natural shyness, but whatever may be the cause, the fact must always seem strange to workers in the field of history. Only a man

studying a period in the remote past, for which material is scanty, can attempt to dispense with the use of the great public and private collections of books and manuscripts, and only a man of comparative wealth can afford to purchase all the books he may require upon his special subject. The reluctance to work himself in libraries and great collections was partly made up in Freeman's case by the willingness of his friends to look up information for him and many of his letters contain playful requests for assistance of this sort and cordial thanks for help rendered. In his avoidance of research in libraries and in his refusal to seek after manuscript material, Freeman cannot be commended, and a modern writer of history who should dare to follow his example in this respect, would speedily find himself taken to task by the critics. But characteristic as was Freeman's fault in avoiding public libraries, it was perhaps more than counterbalanced by his characteristic virtue of visiting and seeing with his own eyes the actual sites of the events he described. A considerable portion of his working years was invariably taken up by his travels, and his journeys were made, not in search of recreation, but with definite relation to the work on which he chanced to be engaged. The gospel which he preached to future historians was most important in this respect. What he preached, he practiced. And English historical writers of the present day are expected by their readers to have visited the scenes which they describe and not to take their topography from guide books or atlases. Every reader of the "History of the Norman Conquest," will remember how its pages are illumined with vivid descriptions of historic castles, ancient cities and famous battlefields, and many were the important rectifications in the received narratives, which Freeman was enabled to make from his personal inspection of the places he described. Like his friend, Mr. J. R. Green, Freeman found the face of the land and the remains of ancient buildings the most valuable of documents for the understanding and interpretation of historical events, and his method of personal visits and intelligent examination of the ground, remains as an example to be imitated, even as his avoidance of libraries deserves to be reprobated. In addition to this characteristic side of his method, Freeman had another great merit which is constantly illustrated in his letters. "Always verify your quotations," said the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Dr. Routh, when he was asked by an undergraduate to give some advice which might aid him in life, and Freeman laid equal stress upon the importance of absolute and scholarly accuracy. Frequent are the allusions in his letters to this prime duty of a historian and every quotation used by him in any of his books, and

every allusion made was always carefully verified in proof by his daughters or by himself. Would that more historians followed Freeman in this respect, for such accuracy is a real boon to the conscientious student and cannot hurt that ubiquitous and troublesome person, the general reader.

To an American reader, the most interesting of Freeman's letters will naturally be those published in the second volume, which were written during his visit to the United States, in 1881-82. His intention in crossing the Atlantic was to visit his son Edgar Freeman, who had married an American lady and settled in Virginia. But the journey was made profitable as well as pleasant by the delivery of courses of lectures in the principal American cities and universities. Freeman's comments on America and Americans are racy, like every thing he wrote, and although abounding in evidence of the violent prejudices which formed the weak side of his character, are striking, and often shrewdly observant. "This would be a grand land," he writes from New Haven, Conn., on December 4, 1881, "if only every Irishman would kill a negro and be hanged for it. I find this sentiment generally approved—sometimes with a qualification that they want Irish and negroes for servants, not being able to get any other. This looks like the ancient human weakness of craving for a subject race. 'Tis grievous that the fine, old, Puritan New Englanders should be all going westward, and Irishmen buying the land." (Vol. II, p. 242,) "I think I get on mightily with all folk here," he writes on another occasion, "save railway folk, who are simply brutal, and often black to boot. But the freed nigger seems to have a fancy generally for making us feel our Aryan inferiority—I am sure 'twas a mistake making them citizens. I feel a creep when I think that one of these great black apes may (in theory) be President. Surely treat your horse kindly; but don't make him consul." (Vol. II, p. 236.) In one passage in the letter written from New Haven which has already been quoted, Freeman sums up the things which he disliked in America, and surprisingly few and trivial they seem to be, excepting, perhaps the last in the list. "I have held forth at Boston, Ithaca, Baltimore and here," he writes. "They are wonderful folk to listen, but 'tis very hard to get them to cheer or laugh, which is discouraging. On the whole, I don't count this land any stranger than Scotland, hardly so much. But there are some *Illaudabilia America* for a new Giraldus to set down.

"First. They give you no drink water in your bedroom.

"Second. They sit with the door of the room open.

"Third. They eat their meat raw, which they call *rare*.

"Fourth. They call one Professor and Doctor. I was called *Colonel* at Baltimore, which was a pleasing variety, but only in the dark.

"Fifth. Their roads, even in the towns, are worse than any in Swampshire. I tell them that I can't see the difference between Republicans and Democrats, but that I support any party that will take away the mud. How can there be purity of elections, when you have to go through such slush to get to the polls?" (Vol. II, p. 243.) The evidence of his letters proves that Freeman thoroughly enjoyed his visit to America. He rejoiced in Rhode Island, which he called his "pet little State, matching Uri on the other side"; he admired New Haven, "which, bating the lack of old things, is the prettiest town one ever saw"; he humorously delighted in Vassar College, where he likened "the chatter of many girls at dinner in hall to the chirruping of seventy-two thousand grass-hoppers"; he lost his patience with "a she-antiquary who would talk about *Septimus Severus*", and he made a bad pun with regard to a municipal election in Philadelphia, in which he took much interest, by quoting from Virgil, "Procumbit humi *bos*," a pun only intelligible to those who pronounce Latin after the old-fashion.

Delightful as is the whole mass of correspondence in which Freeman reveals himself, published in the two volumes edited by Dean Stephens, an even greater treat is promised in the preface, where it is announced that, at some future date, the correspondence which passed between Freeman and J. R. Green will be issued in a separate volume. It is somewhat of a shock to find how small a place Green fills in the volumes under review but doubtless the omission will be more than made up in the promised work. Freeman and Green stand together in the minds of men and probably will stand together to all time as the first masters of style, who laid before the English speaking world an animated and accurate record of the growth and early development of the English people and the Norman monarchy. It would be invidious to compare the two friends; Green, perhaps, had not Freeman's instinct for accuracy or the wide range of historical erudition, which enabled him to make his points clear by comparisons and contrasts; but on the other hand, Freeman could not boast of Green's exquisite lucidity of style or his feelings for the organic unity of town and province and nation. The promised volume of correspondence will doubtless throw more light upon the historical methods of the late Regius Professor and will presumably give much welcome knowledge of the personal character and habits of mind of the author of the "Short History of the English People." It will certainly show the greatness of the debt which both of them owe to the most famous historian of the Oxford historical school,



the master of them both in wide learning and scientific capacity, Dr. William Stubbs, the present Bishop of Oxford. Freeman rejoiced when appointed to his chair at Oxford at becoming the successor of Stubbs and the following Oxford epigram describes the admiration which the author of the "History of the Norman Conquest" felt for the yet more famous author of "The Constitutional History of England:"

"See, ladling butter from alternate tubs,  
Stubbs butters Freeman, Freeman butters Stubbs."

At present, gratitude to the Dean of Winchester for the care and trouble he has taken in editing and arranging "The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman" is heightened by a lively expectation of future pleasures to be enjoyed in the perusal of the correspondence between Freeman and Green. It remains to be added, that the publishers' share in the production of the book is entirely creditable; that portraits are given of Freeman at different ages; and that the index supplied is, what should never have been allowed in the case of so unwearied and painstaking an index-maker as Professor Freeman, entirely inadequate.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

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*Études et portraits politiques.* Par NUMA DROZ, Ancien Président de la Confédération Suisse. Pp. 519. Geneva: Ch. Eggimann et Cie. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1895.

No man is so well qualified to pronounce an opinion on Swiss political institutions as M. Droz. At once a scholar and a statesman, he combines with a naturally sound judgment an extraordinary amount of actual experience, for he served as a member of the Federal Council or executive body of the Confederation almost a score of years, and left it the most distinguished public man in the country. Students of the Swiss government will therefore welcome the collection of his essays which has just appeared. These essays were first published as magazine articles at sundry times during the last fifteen years, and they deal with a variety of subjects—historical, political and biographical. Six of them, or one-half of the whole number, are discussions of the political institutions of the Confederation and were written for the most part in consequence of changes, or proposed changes, in the Constitution. Two of the six treat of the organization and method of election of the Federal Council, and in these as elsewhere M. Droz shows that he is a conservative in the true sense; that is, he feels the delicacy of the